60/ As concerns a male subject E 10:

1- 3.	a²ɛ²nosu		
2- 4.	asoŭnosu	rec. :	asuittu
13-14.	asuĭ'ttu	rec.:	asuellisu
5-17.	a²ɛ²kehosu	rec.:	a²ɛ²kiraru
6-18.	ahuĭ'nosu	rec.:	a²ɛ²kiʼtaru
[21] 7.	asŏ'nosu	rec.:	asinoeʼru
8.	a²ɛ²nosu	rec.:	asinoeʼru
9.	arĭ'ndesu or (t)oŭnosu	rec.:	akenaŭnosu or alohsu
11.	asiŏ'su	rec.:	oyeŭsaesu
12.	asŭ'kosu	rec.:	asŭkosu (if the subject chosen is e 9 woman, E12 will be oyeŭsaesu and e 11 aseŏ'tasu, rec.: aseŏ'tasu)
15.	arĭ'ndesu	rec.:	alohsu
16.	alohsu	rec.:	arĭ'ndesu

If one does not keep account of the reciprocal use of the terms, normally univocal, alohsu and arĭ'ndesu in the case of parallel cousins, this nomenclature only includes univocal terms, with the exception of two: asŭkosu and aseŏ'tasu, and each sex has at its disposition only one of these two reciprocal terms; in other words, a man has only brothers-in-law, while a woman has only sisters-in-law. It will be seen below that as concerns the first term (asŭkosu), it implies particular relations between the men who use it.

The extreme simplicity of the system of course leads to some difficulties of nomenclature when one desires to distinguish degrees of parentage confounded by the system. In the same way its extreme symmetry risks bringing about contradictions when "oblique" marriages bring transfers between generations. To the classificatory nomenclature analyzed above is superimposed—or added—a descriptive nomenclature, which permits, in case of difficulty, placing the individual in the generation with more precision, or according to the degree of kinship which he holds with respect to the subject. This descriptive [55] nomenclature is not currently used, and above all, it never intervenes in naming. But it is consulted each time there is some doubt, and in some cases more frequent usage can be pointed out.

The first difficulty might be produced concerning the distinction of the real husband or wife, compared to the theoretical husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical

[36] Eastern group, dialect a1: oakletosu (a1): galifere (b1): galiririte (c).

621 [161] This group, comprising 23 persons divided into six families, was found in the region of the Papagaio River (Utiarity) upon the occasion of one of its excursions in the nomad period. As we learned later, it was part of quite an important Indian community localized in several villages or camp sites in an unexplored zone of the right bank of the Juruena River, where we went, traveled and lived with them. The dry season and the period of nomadism does not seem to have been the only reason for the isolation of the group; some differences re- [22] lating to command had seemingly provoked a break, grouping a certain number of individuals around an active and ambitious chief. We have, undoubtedly, been called on to play a semi-conscious role in this fight. We shall return to this point when we treat of command. However, the encounters of the group with other bands belonging to the same community have always been cordial. The meeting with a first band approximately restored the population of the winter vil- [61] lage; and the strength of a neighboring village, found later on, increased the number to 75 persons, the largest number of Indians that we saw united in eight months.

As will be seen by the genealogical chart opposite, the restricted group is composed of four generations, the oldest reduced to two individuals, the following being composed of "husbands" and "wives," "brothers," "sisters," "brothers-in-law" and "sisters-in-law." The third and the fourth, finally, constitute a complex mixture of children, sometimes at an early age, considered as "children" or "relatives," and of adults classed as "brothers," "sisters," "husbands," and "wives," and shifted to a generation younger than their normal one because of their situation as children of older brothers.

Before giving several quick pieces of information about each of the members of the group from the point of view of his situation in the kinship system and of his individual psychology, it is necessary to stop for a moment at the question of proper names.

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• 551 Proper names are never pronounced among the Nambikwara. A very strict prohibition forbids them and raises a nearly insoluble problem for the notation of genealogies, even though the taboo does not seem to be as rigorous for the dead as for the living. Nevertheless, one [37] never hears a proper name, and individuals call one another

●551 either by simple exclamations:
bena (dialect a1): hetó (a2, b1, b2): "People!"; or by the kinship terms
1. sabéhi ó - wáinko (c): "Hey young one. --Father?"
2. tiditmeite mandétjena takenaãde kuikunjena uítige takenãe kuí'mkumenẽ (b1) (1): "The manioc is burnt; my brother

126

1. It is necessary to define more exactly the manner in which these texts, and those which follow, have been obtained. We have not had the aid of any interpreter. At the time of our stay there was only one, a Nambikwara Indian educated far from his own people by the Jesuit fathers, and whom unfortunately, we could not employ. The Indians in contact with the posts of the telegraph line use, in their relations with the Pareesi or Brazilian employees, a sort of "sabir", formed about forty words, one part Indian and the other Portuguese. This ingenious language, accompanied by numerous gestures, served as an introduction. At the end of about three months we had achieved a grossly empiric knowledge of Nambikwara itself, permitting us to make ourselves understood by the Indians, and more or less to follow a conversation. This result could not have been obtained without the tireless good will of the informants always ready to exchange words (Nambikwara for French or Portuguese) and to develop the obscure points by the use of an appropriate sign language. Working with these methods of chance we have both noted in passing fragments of conversation which were not addressed to us, and collected information by dictation. In both cases, the interpretation of the text was taken up again, afterwards, with the informants. It goes without saying that a meaning established in such a superficial way is not free from inaccuracies which sometimes may prove to be gross. We do not publish them for their literal meaning, often subject to caution, but rather because of the rough impression of indigenous life and atmosphere which they nevertheless aid to recreate. For the transcriptions, we are indebted to Mr. Paul L. Garvin for those which he established with the aid of our travel notes, and which he uses in his "Esquisse du système phonologique du Nambikwara-Tarundé," which appears in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, 1948.

● 551 scrapes it to eat it. Brother! Scrape!"

551 177 The Indians feel very strongly the inconvenience of the system, especially when they are in contact with the whites. Those among them who intermittently frequent the posts of the Rondon Line have very rapidly adopted the Brazilian names which they hear pronounced around them, and they are—or have been—baptized Julio, José Maria, Luiza, Iracema, etc., giving these surnames some strange distortions. Sometimes too, there are nicknames like Lebre (lièvre = rabbit), Assucar (sucre = sugar) or Cavaignac (the shape of beard worn by the famous general). Several Indians have preserved this last name, thus perpetuating in the backwoods the memory of the time when Rondon lived and flourished.

We could use these names to designate them in the course of this study, or also their real names insofar as we have been able, in certain cases, to restore them. But these Brazilian names are only carried by the small minority of Indians who are in contact with the posts of the Rondon Line; [38] and the authentic names are lacking to us in a great number of cases. At any rate, the process would not be true to reality. For the remarkable point is that, in daily life, one does not hear a single name pronounced. It thus seems to us more in 128 conformance with the indigenous atmosphere to refrain, in the course 551 of this work, from using names to designate individuals, and we shall content ourselves with symbols indicating the sex, the group, and the place in the group of the individual considered (for each group, respectively A, B, C; capital letter for a man, small letter for a woman, followed by a figure identifying the subject.)

551 Nevertheless, as has just been indicated, it has been possible for 124 us, for group a1, to collect a complete list of names. This is how: one day when we were playing with a group of children, one of the little girls was struck by a playmate. She came immediately to take refuge near us, and began, in a very mysterious manner, to murmur something in our ears which we did not understand, and which we were obliged to have repeated for us several times, so that the adversary realized the trick, and, apparently furious, came in turn to reveal what appeared to be a solemn secret. After several hesitations and questions, the interpretation of the incident left no doubt. The first little girl had come, out of revenge, to give us the name of her enemy, and when the latter saw this, she told us the name of the other one, as a means of reprisal. From this moment on, it was very easy, if not very scrupulous, to arouse the children against one another, and to obtain from each of them the name of all the others. After this, a little complicity thus having been created, they gave us the

●55 names of the adults without too much difficulty. When the latter 124 found out our secret meetings, the children were harshly reprimanded, and the source of our information cut off. However, during a moment of great confidence one day, A1 gave us the names of her parents and great-grandparents, so that at the end of the account the list of proper names covers a total of five generations:

551 601
1. Mother of the mother of A1, ... Arigɨtiadusu.
2. Father of the father of A1 ..... Itɨtilisu, Irɨgudusu.
3. Mother of the father of A1 ..... Etuaɨgluglusu.
4. Father of the mother of A1 ..... Igigɨkulusu.
5. Father of A1 ..... Arakɨtiadusu.
6. Mother of A1 ..... Tuuufusu.
7. A1 ..... (missing)
8. a2 ..... Gɨɨndereru.
9. a3 ..... Uɨɨterekaneru.
10. a4 ..... Uaɨrakaneru.
11. Mother of a4 ..... Uaɨrasu.
12. Father of a4 ..... Ninuanɨ'usu.
13. a5 ..... Gɨɨnderɨkineru.
[38] 14. A6 ..... Tajɨrɨ'u.
15. a7 ..... Narɨɨ'u, Nɨɨnɨrɨkinere.
16. a8 ..... Tajɨrɨ'kineru.
17. a9 ..... Tajɨrɨ'kineru.
18. A10 ..... Nɨ'kloerekinɨdetu.
19. a11 ..... Selɨ?itirokɨsu.
20. a12 ..... Selɨ?itikineru.
21. A13 ..... Tarɨɨkakaresu.
22. a14 ..... Njɨɨelese.
23. A15 ..... Nikɨkitasu.
24. A16 ..... Njoselɨɨekiraru.
25. A17 ..... Kajɨkaresu.
26. a18 ..... Sonaɨkakaresu.
27. a19 ..... Sonaɨkakaneru.
28. a20 ..... Sonaɨkakarɨkiritasu.
Kjatorɨkineru.
29. A21 ..... Karɨɨtɨeju.
30. a22 ..... Itatɨnjɨdetu,
Idonerɨkineru.
31. a23 ..... Kjɨdikitasu,
Kjɨtɨtɨdesukineru.
Karɨɨkineru.

●551 As seen by the list, two categories of names exist. The adults possess a name of their own. The children are named after their parents—son, or daughter, of so and so. The name used in this case is usually that of the mother (a5/a12 (but who is not a child), A16/a19/a20): but not always: a8 and a9, whose mother is dead, are both called after their father, daughters of Tairiisu. As concerns a23, who is a little baby, a wide divergence manifests itself among our informants (it must not be forgotten that they are children, and that their information is uncertain), and the name of Karlokineru, daughter of Karlokeru, her father, has been taken even though her mother is living. But, as will be seen farther on, during our stay A21, a22, and a23 are confused in the same borderline way. On the other hand, the fact that the names of Kiatorekineru and of Idonerekineru could be chosen for a20 and a22 suggests that they are not the daughters of a18, but parallel cousins of her daughters. If such is not the case, the two names may be part of a collection, or have been attributed wrongly to their supposed holders.

[553 88] Adolescents receive their names from the chief at the moment of puberty. The name giving is a point to which we shall return later on. The fact that certain adults are designated on our list by a technical term is undoubtedly explained by the fact that our informants did not know their true names. Nevertheless, it must be noticed that, in the two cases being discussed, a12 is a pregnant woman and a22 a woman who is nursing a child. Both are submitted to complex prohibitions. A special prohibition rests perhaps on the name of individuals placed in certain situations.

[40] Whatever the case may be, these are the only names which we have been able to obtain and, regarding the prohibition which covers them, in the course of this report, we will not use them more than they are used in the daily life of the Nambikwara Indians. We shall now give some information concerning the individuals composing the group studied.

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nãingenãghẽẽ nãnẽẽgueudne (b1)

Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
● [56] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens; who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[229] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehéna uʃtte uʃkarage, "the woman caresses the baby," or uʃinuette uʃkarage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [i.e. From the children.--Analyst]

874 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and
[304] tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed
on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on
an angle so that the two points eventually press
through the lobe creating a hole. As the child
grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks
● [551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not
named, being known only as the child of so-and-so
until puberty, when it receives a name. The
Wakitinin appear to have no avoidances following
the birth of a child, although the Kitaxrbu are
[845] said to practice a modified form of couvade.
Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate
[848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for
by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma
appears to be attached to an unmarried mother;
however, this attitude may be a recent develop-
[845] ment. Crippled or malformed babies are not
[847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years
853 old or until another child is born. Women in the
band assist one another in nursing and taking
care of the infants. If a woman should have two
small infants, another woman who has lost her
854 child will nurse one of them. Small children are
carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a
strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of
the mother. This strap which is made from
embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in
width. Women evidently are accustomed to
carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the
tiny women were observed carrying not only their
child but also a huge burden basket full of fire-
wood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins
to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning
while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with
a rat which we had caught in a box trap the
night before, neither of us having the courage to
put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries
suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro
then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave
853 it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation
the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out
252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it
on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been
partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its
tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her
cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it
had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb